/102 cont./

342 round, beehive-like. The larger one was 19 paces in diameter, covered high up on the outside with acuri straw, whereas the framework in the interior exhibited a circle of supporting posts one and a third meters high, upon which the basket of this structure, which actually consisted merely of a roof, rose with many horizontal bamboo rings. At the top was an air vent; a number of the /103/ framework poles crossing one another here extended to the outside. The entrance, a hole one and a half meters high, was surrounded by pepper plants. In any case, the interior space was far larger and finer than in the new houses.

433 241 The people led an idyllic existence; they carried on agri-

142 291 302 622

Captain Reginaldo and wife.

433 241 culture and stock-raising, went hunting, planted mandioca /manioc/, beans, maize, rice, and some tobacco and sugar cane. 177 They were civilized, despite the pierced ear lobes and nasal septa. 304 Their average height was 1.65 meters; they were striking because 142 of their broad and powerful chests. Their skin was yellowish, [141] clay-colored, and rather light, the hair of most of them was black and slightly curly or wavy. In general they had beautiful, open 151 eyes. Reginaldo's excellent vision was demonstrated on one occasion in a way that amazed us all. We noticed far in the distance a /illustration appears here/ figure in the grass; with an excellent field-glass I took it to be Tupy riding up; the entire company, among them Daniel, who was seldom mistaken, agreed with me;

/164 cont./

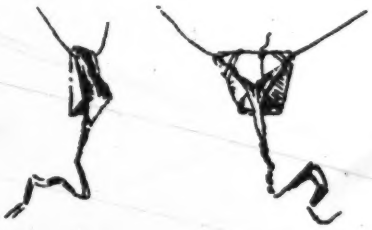
287 The triangular garment of the women, a folded piece of
291 bark bast, supposedly from the schischá tree, has a base of four centimeters and a height of one to one and a half centimeters.

A girl about ten years old is still completely naked.

302 The nasal septum of the men is not pierced; the beard hair,
[304] /165/ if a natural tendency for it is present, as well as all the hair (among the women, too) with the exception of the head hair, the eyebrows, and eyelashes, is carefully removed.

224 Around 10:00 in the forenoon Clauss came with Antonio; a
[622] few men also arrived from hunting, among them the chief, an older gentleman with an anxiously serious official face and a
162 fat little belly. We count ten men, seven women, five boys, four girls.

291



Clothing of the Bakaïrí women.

372 Pauhaga showed us how they make fire. They take two long, thin sticks of the same dry wood; into one a notch is scraped; while one man now holds this in position on the ground with two small sticks, a second man twirls the other stick rapidly between both hands in the notch. The dust that is rubbed loose glimmers.

126 We did some bartering; I measured a few men. They patiently allowed it to be done.

157 These "wild" Bakaïrí are alert, teachable, and certainly very good-natured. They do not steal, although we are carrying
[273] treasures with us. They have no intoxicating drink; they refuse
[276] tobacco. On the second day, together with their wives, they visit
609 us in our camp -- the "docile ones" on the Rio-novo, on the other hand, preferred to sleep with those in the bush as long as we were in the aldea. On the first evening a savage drinks a medicine that I

/64 cont./

291 the upper arms or under one knee or above one ankle. One youth
301 or another would also stick a feather into his pierced ear-lobe;
304 one must not think, however, that the Indian always appears in his entire festive array, as on tobacco-store signs.

000 I should like, however, to say a few words at this point about the general impression that the "nakedness" makes on the unself-conscious visitor. One does not see this evil nakedness at all after a quarter of an hour, and if one then purposely reminds oneself of it and asks whether the naked human beings, father, mother, children, who are innocently standing or walking around there ought to be condemned or pitied because of their lack of modesty, one must either laugh about it as about something incredibly silly or raise a protest against it as against something contemptible. From the aesthetic standpoint the lack of covering has its pros and cons, like all truth: youth and vigor often looked delightful in their unconstrained movements, old age and disease
291 often dreadful in their decay. Our clothing seemed as strange
123 to the good people as their nakedness seemed to us. I was accompanied by men and women when I went to bathe and was obliged to submit to having all my onion skins examined in the greatest detail. They lacked any understanding of the embarrassed feeling that I was well-bred enough to feel with respect to their curiosity; they thoughtfully examined my Polynesian tattooing, especially a blue kiwi of New Zealand, but, to my satisfaction, they were obviously disappointed by the fact that there were not greater wonders hidden under the careful and unusual packing.

123 They themselves, of course, also wore something resem-
535 bling clothes for their masquerade and dance, apparel plaited out of palm straw, the name of which is éti = house, and thus my shirt was given the grand name of "back-house"; I had a "head-house" and a "leg-house." Since the women do not dance and only the men may use this apparel in their flute-house, Eva's question as to whether "karáiba pekóto," the women of the Karaiben, also wore clothes, "houses," was probably not so un-
000 justified. -- How quickly one can become accustomed to the naked

/178 cont./

*171 826 If the eye is the most valuable of all human organs, these forest dwellers in quest of animals and fruits are dependent on it to the highest degree imaginable. Never have I heard an Indian complain and whimper as did the chief of the Yaulapiti bemoaning his blindness. Yet in treatment they do not necessarily develop [957] the insight that seems proper to us. Since tobacco smoke is the best medical remedy, a badly inflamed conjunctiva is blown full of smoke as forcefully as possible. Thus the idea that the lashes protect the eye is quite foreign to the Indians. They maintain that the lashes hinder the eye in seeing, especially if they want to [957] peer sharply into the distance. That they are anxious to care for [411] the precious organ according to the best of their knowledge is shown by the fact that the area around the eye of the boy who is to become a skilled archer is scratched bloody with the scarifier -- naturally because they believe in this "medicine" and not because [302] they want to harden him. In the case of the lashes in particular, the seemingly cruel plucking, since it is radical, is nevertheless a relatively mild procedure. To endure the cutting and shaving on the edge of the lid with fish teeth and shells would indeed be heroic.

*171 302 ● 304 The skin. The skin is pierced to receive ornaments, it is painted with color, and it is scratched with spines or teeth. The two last methods have developed into artistic treatment, into body painting or tattooing -- one would only like to know what original purposes lie behind them.

*171 301 If we observe, on the basis of thousands of examples, to what degree coquetry and vanity triumph over physical discomfort in matters crude and fine among our pampered, civilized human beings, we shall not be surprised that the vanity of primitive peoples is even more reckless. The chief difference between us and them is merely that they are obliged to do on the skin what we are able to do with clothing. Among them, however, it was everywhere first of all the man who adorned himself. He began doing so as a hunter, and since there is the matter of manifesting the hunter's vanity, we may conclude that man first developed the idea of the trophy by not separating himself from the parts of the booty that were inedible, /179/ yet could easily be preserved and

/179 cont./

*171 carried, but rather saved them for acknowledgment by his con-
301 temporaries and attached them to his body. We find this all the
more natural, since we know that with such parts, in his opinion,
[789] the characteristics of the game animal were acquired. Thus he
wore claws, teeth, and feathers as trophy and talisman. While
*171 he could tie most of these things on a string, he was in difficulty
301 with a feather which he wanted to keep as a memento of a good
● 304 shot: he pierced his ear lobe and stuck it in there, where it was
secure and did not get in his way. The ancestors of all our tribes
hit upon this; some of them were soon not content with ear holes,
but also pierced the nose and lips. For the idea of the trophy, at
first applied only to the laborious attainment, was extended to a
wearing not connected with much pain or labor. A new result,
worthy of admiration, was produced, and a young man undoubtedly
felt "better tailored," in the fullest sense of the expression, if
he displayed his treasure in a hole in his nose, lip, or ears, than
*171 if he wore it around his neck on a string. Once the wearing of
301 the trophy became habitual, it was inevitable that attention was
822 turned to its external qualities as well, the previously secondary
characteristics of color and form. Even objects that had merely
been used to keep the holes open and prevent them from healing
shut became ornaments and decorations. More or less vaguely
felt perceptions of pleasing color contrasts were associated with
ideas about the difficult, the unusual, the power-endowed.

*171 The artificial injury, however, became an end in itself
304 through the circumstance that it furnished a permanent distinguish-
619 ing mark and thus shaped various forms of the custom. It was not
only excellently suited for distinguishing brave and ruling persons
within a tribe, who were usually also the most vain, but it often
formed the consciously worn symbol of nationality from tribe to
tribe. It provided the means for giving even children lasting
[648] marks. The Indians have always passionately engaged in kid-
napping among foreign tribes in order to rear warriors and women;
hence children were marked so that they could be recognized, as
the herd-owner stamps his livestock. When we were with the
Bororó, an old woman swore by all that was holy that our Antonio,

/179 cont./

*171 ● 304 619 although he understood not a word of Bororó, was her son stolen years before by enemies; she wailed and lamented loudly all night long; then it was strange to see how the Bororó carefully undertook to examine on the half-laughing, half-outraged Antonio his lower lip, which among them is pierced as early as infancy and unanimously set him free when, instead of their little lip-hole, they found a pierced nasal septum. Thus among the [648] Bakaïrí there were abducted Paressí women; among the Nahuquá, Mehinakú women; among the Suyá, the captured Manitsauá, who were immediately distinguishable from the rest by the tribal marking. /180/ The artificial injury thus developed into a regular arrangement for expediency. Moreover, the foreign was regarded as ugly or comical, the indigenous as beautiful and noble.

[86] *171 304 The piercing of the ear lobes is generally widespread among [301] [239] the men of all tribes. It serves solely for feather ornaments. Among no tribe of the Kulisehu do the women have pierced ear-lobes, and no woman wears feather ornaments of any kind anywhere else on her body; the woman does not hunt -- the origin from the hunting trophy is still unmistakably distinct. The ear of the boy is pierced at the time when he begins to practice with a small-sized bow and arrow.* /Fig. 12 appears here./

*Among the Suyá men and women wear rolls of palm leaf strips in the slit-open ear-lobe, which is gradually extended into a long rein, but here, too, feather ornaments are confined to the men.

The piercing of the lower part of the nasal septum, so that the alae, slightly turned upward, rest on the object stuck through it, is found only among the Bakaïrí, on the Paranatinga and Rio Novo, on the Batovy, and in the first Kulisehu village among both sexes, in the second Kulisehu village only among the men, in the third neither among men nor women. This geographical [648] distribution makes it seem not improbable to me that the custom is based on that of the Paressí, /181/ who were formerly in active

/181 cont./

*171 304 [648] contact, sometimes peaceful, sometimes hostile, with the western Bakaïrí, of whom we still found two women, kidnapped as children, in the Paressí Matinga village. The Paressí pierced the ear lobes of their women so that they could always be distinguished from the Bakaïrí women, and their men pierced the nasal septum, inserted a little

[532] [237]

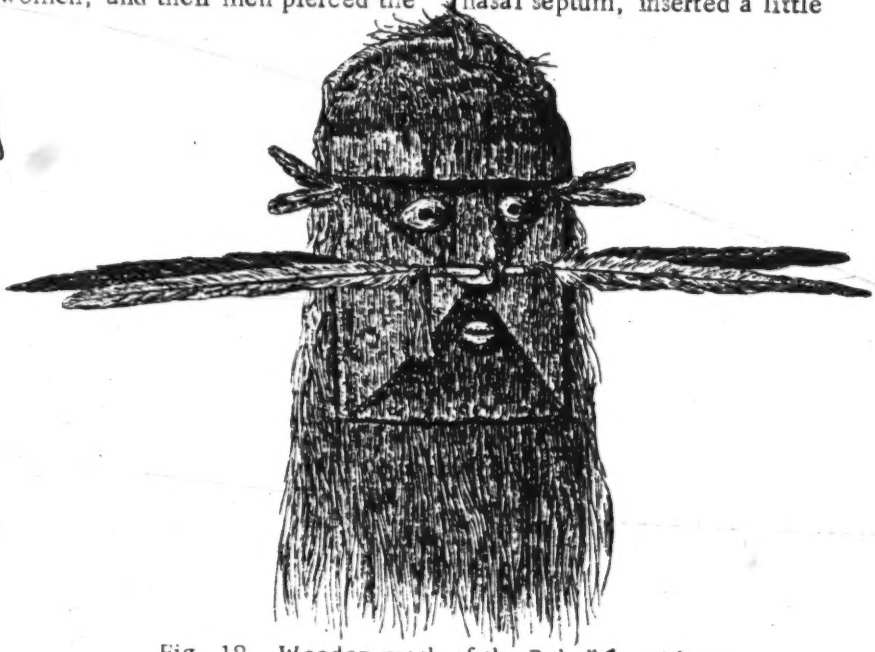


Fig. 12. Wooden mask of the Bakaïrí, with ear and nose feathers.

piece of reed in it, and stuck into only one end of this a long arara feather or ordinary toucan feather, whereas the ear ornament of the women consisted of a little triangular piece of nut shell.

301 304 [178] [532] Among the Bakaïrí today feathers are no longer worn in the nose, but we found masks with a hole in the elongated septum of the wooden nose, through which an arara feather stuck into a piece of reed projected out on either side. There is also a difference in the size of the hole among men and women, to which my attention was especially drawn by the Bakaïrí themselves; in it the men wear a thin piece of kambayuwa reed, in which the feather or a thin bone is inserted, the women a thick kambayuva peg or a thick bone or stone. The latter is never used by the men.

/181 cont./

or stone. The latter is never used by the men. On the Kulisehu we collected a few ornamental stones made out of grayish white quartzite with a dull shine, which were ground into the shape of a pointed spindle and were six centimeters long. We saw the nose-spindle, natáko, in actual use only in the case of a pregnant woman, who also had many ornaments hanging around her neck. These stones came from the Batovy or the Ponekuro, the right source-river of the Kulisehu; they were said to be rare, so that ordinary bones or reed had to help out. We also obtained bones of similar shape, eight and a half centimeters long, and a spindle seven centimeters long and gleaming like mother-of-pearl, which was cut out of a shell. The operation is performed in approximately the fifth year of life and is said to be accompanied by profuse bleeding on occasion.

I may add on here the binding of the extremeties, although

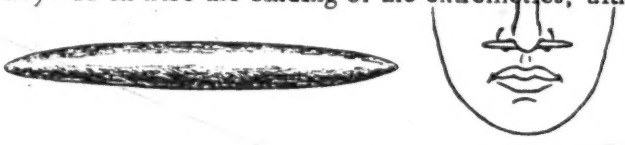


Fig. 13. Ornamental nose-stone of the Bakaïrí women.

I may add on here the binding of the extremeties, although it was still foreign to our Indians in the degree where it might be spoken of as a bodily injury. It was much in use among all the tribes. For this they used thick, wide straw binding, hanks of cotton, cotton ropes, or bands crocheted with wooden needles, and wore them on the upper arm and below the knee or above the ankle. The custom was most striking in the third Bakaïrí village, where one saw chubby, almost swollen calves. We never observed, however, such thick, protruding calves as are shown in illustrations of the male or female Karaiben of the north. We noticed the straw bindings especially among the Nahuquá (cf. Fig. 4 /see p. 71/). /182/ Only the men made use of the binding. It makes one strong, I was told by way of explanation. As dance ornaments bands decorated with colored feathers are worn around the upper arm.

/187 cont./

*171 302 daubing. The cotton bands wound the upper arm or lower leg offered a not unpopular motif. One day I saw on the Bakaïrí Kulekule, who was an enthusiastic admirer of mine, a black horseshoe-like arc below either nipple, and when I jokingly asked him what it was, to my surprise he pointed to my boots, which impressed him very much: he had painted the heels on himself. A veritable work of art was displayed by a young Auetó who was solemnly decked out for the journey with us to Cuyabá -- his father ordered him to accompany us --, but who left us already among /188/ the Mehinakú, in spite of a pot of flour that had been given to take along as provisions. The mereschu lozenge-pattern, which I shall subsequently discuss in greater detail, covered his chest and sides down to the middle of the calves, in contrast to which the lower half of his face and the sides of his neck from the ear to the collarbone stood out with a coating of pure, deep black. Otherwise it was primarily on the festive occasion of a reception or, as among the Nahuquá, for the dance that people decorated themselves with designs. In everyday life there was practically nothing to be seen, just as little as of feather ornaments. When I appeared with my traveling companions from Independencia, almost all of the Bakaïrí of the first village, including the women, received us in a painted state, the smaller grandsons of Tumayaua had been carefully smeared over their whole bodies, and Tumayaua told me specifically that we were supposed to see how pleased the women were.

*171 ●304 [237 824] Scratch-scars. Scratching the skin is a sort of panacea. It is used on young and old and in the same way among all the tribes. With the /Fig. 15 appears here/ scarifier, a triangular piece of gourd shell set with a row of small, pointed teeth of fish (trahira) or claws of rodents (agutí), the skin is scratched, allowed to bleed for a while, which is helped by stroking with a bone, and is then rubbed either with yellow loam or with soot or the juice of a fruit (natunsán among the Auetö). One sees the scratch-scars everywhere, especially on the arms. Actual

/188 cont./

*171 304 decorative scars are altogether absent, which agrees with a statement by Joest, that they are confined to the dark peoples. So that boys will develop a sure eye and a strong arm for shooting, the face and upper arm are treated with the scarifier. I saw it *171 757 used with very good results in the case of a bad swelling of the foot. The procedure is pure Baunscheidtism /a method of healing by acupuncture/ and is expressly represented as a medical one. It is clear that in many cases relief is actually obtained by a lessening of pressure and inflammation. It is no less clear how people hit upon it, for in the case of insect bites, everyone scratches until there is bleeding and the pain or itching stops, and one also tries to let out anything harmful that has penetrated the skin. Finally, it is not mysterious why people rub them-

[304]

Fig. 15.
Scarifier.

selves with soot or earth; again they do not wish to adorn themselves, but to increase or alleviate, according to need, the irritation and stop the blood. Bleeding was also checked with ashes.

*171 304 Thus the native has now arrived at tattooing, without inventing it; I often observed colored scratch-lines in the skin as a regular, albeit unintentional tattooing among tribes who did not /189/ concern themselves with this art at all. One may not speak of accident, however, since the habit of medicinal scarification of necessity called forth the secondary experience of coloring. Purposeful application is a matter of subsequent notions. Tattooing also becomes an artificial method and a distinguishing aid which is put on the skin where clothing is not present. Nothing is more natural than that tattooing decreases as clothing appears and easier ways to the same ends are opened up. Felipe, the docile Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ from the Paranatinga village, lieutenant of the Brazilian militia and owner of a

B /189 cont./
*171 patent and of a cast-off, gallooned uniform, visited his rediscovered
● 304 brothers in name, along with Antonio, after our first expedition;
he told me that he was asked to go to the Kustenaŭ /Custenau/
and have himself tattooed. "But I didn't want to," he told me,
"after all, I have my galloon."

Tattooing is limited to the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ tribes,

A
142
302
304

Fig. 16. Kamayurá woman with scratch-scars.

B
*171 namely, the Mehinakŭ /Mehinacu/, Kustenaŭ, Waurá, and
304 Yaulapiti -- to tribes who are fond of blackening their bodies,
who could thus best observe the coloring of the scratches -- and
is occasionally laid claim to by the neighboring Bakaïrí. It is
B done in earliest childhood with the thorn of a bromelia, gravatá,
[824] or the tooth of the dogfish; soot or the juice of the tarumá fruit
serves for the color.

/189 cont./

*171 ● 304 We saw an artistic tattooing only once; a chief of the Mehinakú had the rhombus shape of the mereschu fish tattoed on either side of his chest; from the upper and outer corner of the rhombus a double line ran up to the shoulder. Proudly counting up for us the tribes that knew him, he each time pointed to a corner of the rhombus; I use even this little humorous touch to substantiate my opinion that what primitive peoples do with their skin, mutatis mutandis, corresponds to what we undertake with our clothing. The Mehinakú counts off on the corners of his tattoo design, we on the buttons of our vest. The men had /190/ as tattooing a line or a double line that followed the inner contours of their shoulder blades, sometimes as obtuse or approximately right angles which have the vertex turned toward the spinal column, sometimes as an arc -- a design that has gone over into the art of the Mehinakú and appears outside on the bottoms of the large pots; cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253 /. The women wore, either on the upper arm or around the wrist or on the upper thigh, two or three horizontal curved lines, encircling the front part of the limbs, thus representing semicircles.

In general, tattooing does not as yet achieve more than simple lines and still reveals its origin from the clumsy scarification with the fish tooth. In this respect the illustration on the preceding page of a Kamayurá /Camayura/ woman seemingly tattooed, but merely scratched for medicinal purposes, is strange. The Kamayurá did not have any tattooing, but hands and arms were often closely lined with scratch-scars from the scarifier.

[554] Tattooing, however, did serve as a conscious distinction. It marked men and women of the chiefs' families, who, unlike the Bakaïrí Felipe, were not in a position to wear galloons; this distinction was provided even for small children. Here, therefore, it first furnishes a mark of differentiation within the tribe, which in the course of time, however, like every badge of rank, will sink to generalization. Individual Bakaïrí and Nahuquá aristocrats were tempted to strive for the foreign distinction. The Nahuquá had several Mehinakú women with tattooing. Among the Mehinakú I met a visiting Kamayurá, and he,

/190 cont./

*171 characteristically, wore on his arm the two tattoo lines of the
● 304 Mehinakú women, painted on, to be sure, and not tattooed. I believe, but cannot maintain and prove, that there is a connection here with the system of matriarchy. According to the Indian
[619] conception, the sons belong to the tribe of the mother, and in every case they visit the tribal village of the mother under peaceful circumstances. It is certain that the Mehinakú women and the Mehinakú pots bore their home stamp.

II. Sexualia.

*171 The devices among men and women are not coverings. Protec-
291 tion of the mucous membrane and benefits with the onset of puberty. Origin among the women, however, as bandage and cushion, among the men as gymnastic treatment for phimosis.

*171 Our natives do not have any secret body parts. They joke
29 about them in word and picture with such complete ingenuous-
83 ness that it would be foolish to call them indecent. They envy us for our clothing as though for a valuable ornament; they put it on and wear it in our company with such utter disregard of our simplest rules and such complete misunderstanding of all the devices designed for them that their paradisiacal naïveté is
[881] most convincingly proved. Some of them celebrate /191/ the onset of puberty for both sexes with noisy folk festivals, in which general attention and boisterousness is demonstratively
[602] concerned with the "private parts." If a man wishes to tell a
[201] stranger that he is the father of another or a woman wishes to introduce herself as the mother of a child, they gravely acknowledge themselves as worthy begetters in that, with the most spontaneous and natural explanation in the world, they grasp the organs from which life issues.

128 Hence it is not possible to understand these people properly unless we leave aside our ideas of "clothing," unless we take them as they are and as they prove themselves in their own way. Keeping in mind as our point of departure the fact that they have

/198 cont./

*171 291 834 or occasionally took them off, just as a number of Trumaí did not even wear the string, but the penis had always been pushed back so far and the skin was so wrinkled that nothing was visible of the glans. I even believe, perhaps because, without corroborating material, I myself am gazing through the spectacles of civilization, that they would be ashamed to expose the glans to the eyes of another, especially a stranger. Except that I would regard this feeling of modesty as the result of the firmly rooted custom and not as its cause. I find it very strange, however, that a feeling given by temperament should be awakened for only a small anatomical part of an organ which in its function also claims other parts, and I should like to hear of a case having been observed, say, in which a person taken by surprise in a naked state covers himself, not with his hand, but with only two fingers. It should not be forgotten that erections are neither prevented nor concealed by the tying-off. Moreover, there are also •[304] circumcised persons who go naked or did.•

[113]

•Cf. the example of the cacique of Gotera; R. Andree, Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche, new series, Leipzig, 1889, p. 202.

ooo And here we have arrived at the point that must be considered above all. We must take into consideration the opposite treatment of the glans, which shortens or cuts open the praeputium. The majority of mankind has given preference to circumcision. Along with Ploss and Andree, •• I am of the opinion that the

•• Op. cit., p. 212.

original meaning of circumcision was that of an "operative preparatory act for the sexual function of the man"; "one wants to make the young man at once mature and normal sexually, /199/ with it he is taken into the ranks of marriageable men." Now, if our primitives have decided on the opposite method, they could not have been impelled by an opposite motive, which would be irrational. One may well ask, however, whether their

/205 cont./

*171 237 412 [825] be broken off evenly. A scarcely less important tool was furnished by the peixe cachorro, or dogfish, called Cynodon zoologically, which has in its lower jaw two pointed teeth three to three and a half centimeters long, each projecting upward through a hole. The edge of these teeth, ground knife-sharp, was used for cutting, but chiefly for puncturing, for example, in connection with tattooing, for scratching, for example, in decorating the tortoise spindle disks, and for boring reeds, as in the case of the arrows, in order to put through the threads for fastening the feathers and [824] points. /206/ The triangular pieces of gourd which, as the scarifier, represented the most important instrument in the little surgery of the Indians, cf. Figure 15 /see p. 179/, were studded with the small, pointed teeth of the trahira fish, Erythrinus. The [825] little teeth of the agutí, Dasyprocta aguti, served the same purpose. Of the rodents, the capybara, Hydrochoerus capybara, fur- [284] nished indispensable scraping chisels with the front teeth of its lower jaw; the tooth, six to eight centimeters long, was fastened to a piece of ubá reed with cotton thread, or two teeth were lashed together and cemented with a little wax. /Figs. 23-26 appear here./ The arrow holes were likewise bored with the agutí tooth. [301] Monkey teeth, pierced at the root and artfully plaited together into a chain, were a favorite belt or neck ornament.

[411] Bones. Arm and leg bones of monkeys, which were kept in thick bundles in the little tool basket at home, served as arrowheads. They were ground to shape and, with their hollow tubes, mounted on the stick between the arrowhead and arrow shaft. The tail radiation of the ray was likewise an arrowhead. Small, pointed ● [304] bones were added as barbs. /207/ Mammal bones had many uses: the skin treated with the scarifier was rubbed with the thigh bone of the deer; we saw a splinter of a jaguar bone pointed to pierce ear lobes; the wax smeared over the lashing on arrowheads was [825] applied with a bone. The front claws of the giant armadillo, Dasypus gigas, served man, as well as the animal itself, for digging and grubbing up the ground and were the earth hoe of our Indians. The spindle disks in many cases came from the ventral piece of the tortoise shell, which was broken to pieces with a stone. Jaguar

/207 cont./

*171 claws were worn as neck chains, fish vertebrae on the belt cord; Jaguar
237 a bone stuck crosswise through the nasal septum adorned the old
301 Bakaïrí.
304

Shells. Flat river shells were extensively used for cutting, less
*171 for cutting through than for scoring longitudinally, for scraping, planing,
239 smoothing. The work shells brought back from the Kamayurá /Fig. 27
412 appears here/ were identified by Herr Professor von Martens: tyutsí,
[325] Anodonta, was the shell for scraping the mandioca root, "manióka pinãp";
[324]

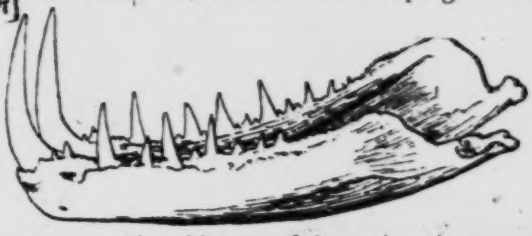


Fig. 23. Dogfish.
(1/1 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 24. Piranha.
(1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

[284]
→

Fig. 25. Front claws of the giant armadillo. (Grubbing hoe.) (2/5 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 26. Capybara teeth. (Scraping chisel.) (1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

the women sat on a couple of pieces of bamboo placed together, and they scraped, scrubbed, scratched, until their legs disappeared in the
[322] heap of parings. This shell also served as a plane to smooth the handle of the stone ax or the oar by means of finer scraping, not with the edge,

/418 cont./

171 386 [283] White is chalky white clay, a supply of which is kept in the huts in the form of balls the size of a child's head. The women, when they spin, rub it on the right thigh, on which they twist the thread. It is simply mixed with water. It is never used to paint the body; it also falls far back for the implements and appears almost solely on the masks, the painting of which need last but a few days, on painted bark pieces, and the like.

/419/ Charcoal and soot, the berry-pulp of the genipap tree, (Genipa) and a number of resins furnish black. In order to blacken the inside of the gourd shells charcoal from the bark of the buriti shaft is used.

[262] 524 [304] The yellowish-red to brownish-red loam seems to have been driven out by the urucú dyestuff. It was formerly eaten and is still molded into heavy dolls for children and is rubbed on wounds for scarification.

[824] Charcoal and soot are rubbed in directly, like the white, or they are also mixed with liquid, like the urucú. Either the oil from the pikí fruit (Caryocar butyrosum) is used, or the yellow extract containing caoutchouc from a tree of the campo cerrado, which the Bakaïrí call ochogohi and the bark of which is grated and made into an extract with water. The colors are mixed in a gourd shell or a pot or, when a hard resin is broken up with the ax blade, most conveniently in the cup-shaped depression of a stool. Urucú is always found as a paste wrapped in leaves in the little workbasket beside the hammock.

The dyestuffs available to the natives are therefore white, black, red, and yellow. The genipap-black is blue-black, the urucú-red a brick-red to orange, which, mixed with the yellow ochogohi juice, loses a good deal of its red. There are no blue or green dyestuffs.

121 196 The theory that the color sense developed gradually for human beings, based on the fact that color distinction in language is inadequate up to a high level of culture and that blue and green in particular are extraordinarily often designated with the same word, has now been abandoned. It was found among all the primitive peoples investigated that they distinguish excellently

/422 cont./

171 192 825 boa-snake which Martius calls "viridis vel azureus Coluber aestivus L." The ordinary distinctions according to color, the number of which is smaller than one would expect, are black, white, red, and yellow; without placing any importance on absolute accuracy, I count 28 birds, 23 fish, 9 mammals, 4 snakes, and 12 lower animals which are differentiated according to those four colors. But now two more words occur for "colorful" /bunt, "gay-colored, mixed, spotted"/, one of which, pinima, with the verb "to paint" of the same stem, is used for fish, three birds, the jaguar, one snake, one lizard, one crayfish, and the other, paragoa, means simply "parrot" and also furnishes a parrot-fish and a parrot-snake. Pure "green" is always parrot-colored or parakeet-colored; where a "blue" is to be distinguished, the animal is also given the additional word una (burned) = black or dark.

191 192 It cannot be expressed more clearly that the Indian is induced to make a sharp color-distinction only when it is a matter of color qualities familiar to him from the dyestuffs, in other words, that his own experience, not his sense of color, furnishes the material for the sharply defined concepts.

171 192 824 The list of plant names by Martius, somewhat over 1000 in number, offers an interesting comparison. Eight plants are given the title black, 7 white, 7 red, 2 yellow. It is obvious that among the plants "green" does not form a distinguishing mark. Yet here, too, we come across on one occasion the cugui or "parakeet-colored," sometimes translated "green," sometimes "blue," and, to be sure, it corresponds to /423/ a specific blue, since it refers to Indigofera anil L. Three plants are "colorful," but "pinima"; the parrot-colorfulness (paragoa) is lacking.

171 386 The natives could have obtained indigo from the plant just mentioned, but they did not know how. Martius asserts that in the manufacture of indigo the Brazilian industrialists use Indian labor, that it was first introduced by the Portuguese and produces a not very desirable kind. Genipap-black has a blue tinge and thus corresponds very well to the referring of blue to black in the color designations. The blue of the tattooing also comes from the black. [192] [304]

/33 cont./

226 114 at least up to where the post is located /cited in English/."
At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, the matrinchã̃
fish was held as the most precious boon in the country of the
Paranatinga Bakairí, and in its honor they held their most
beautiful fiesta. (39) When Karl von den Steinen suggested to

39. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 24 and 25.

Cacique Felipe that his aldea, which seemed to be losing all
its population then, should be moved closer to Cuiabá, his sole
[123] reply was /34/ matrinchã̃. Later at the aldea, then situated
farther upriver, I was treated almost every day to a tasty
matrinchã̃, and when I visited the Xinguanos in the year 1927
in their settlement on the Rio Paranatinga, they also offered me
fish. Of course, it may be that this abundance of fish in the
Rio Paranatinga is restricted to certain times of the year.

114 179 283 352 I also regard as incorrect Petrullo's observation that the
Bakairí of the post had substituted hammocks made of cotton
thread for the ancestral ones of buriti fiber. From the beginning
the hammock made of cotton thread was typical especially of
the Bakairí of the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu
River, in contrast to the hammocks woven of buriti fiber used
by the other tribes in this region. But already at the time of
Karl von den Steinen's expeditions, (40) the Bakairí of the Rio

40. Ibid., p. 239.

Paranatinga had hammocks made of buriti fiber, which, they
114 said, old Cacique Caetano had introduced among them. As for
179 Petrullo's opinion that the custom of filing the upper incisors
● 304 is ancestral with the Bakairí and that they still retain it, I must
contest it with the fact that the Bakairí of the region of the

4:Schmidt--41 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/34 cont./

tributaries of the upper Xingu River never had this custom, but that I had the opportunity to observe it among several of my Mato Grosso attendants, who had presumably adopted it through African influences. If the present-day Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post file their teeth, this is no doubt an innovation brought about by foreign influences.

We know through Petrullo that the high mortality of the Paranatinga Bakairí unfortunately has continued in spite of the care of the Inspectoria da Protecção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/. (41) It seems that fevers are rapidly diminishing the

41. Vincent M. Petrullo, loc. cit., pp. 128 and 129.

Bakairí population. According to Petrullo, syphillis, caught through contact with the whites, probably has also caused high mortality among these Indians.

Finally, I must still mention the last news I received when I had already left Mato Grosso. It was the news of the death of the man who had withdrawn from all innovations at the close of his life because he wished to retain his independence but who nevertheless will remain the best-known Bakairí in Bakairí history: the death of Cacique Antonio.

II. Change and Continuity in the Cultural Goods of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post

In discussing in the preceding section the history of the Bakairí, I mention that the sedentary Bakairí on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, before they entered into relations with their fellow countrymen of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, had still retained some of the articles of their /35/ ancestral culture although they had almost completely become Brazilian campesinos. Through contact with the Xinguanos and as a

/263 cont./

000 dangers that surrounded them. Pregnancy, enokua, was
843 recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When
262 the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to attain visible
proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated.
844 As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was
[784] built inside the houses; the parturient was segregated and re-
mained uanki. Female relatives helped in the delivery under
the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave
[845] birth sitting on her heels. In difficult cases they washed her
abdomen and sides with a hot infusion of cotton leaves. The
umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her hus-
band, and it was buried along with the placenta outside the
844 house. After the birth, eraseli, the child was washed and
784 handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name
846 of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time
[553] afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of
uanki. The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first
846 menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a
796 feast called tadaunúto. The restoration of the parents and the
784 child to the bosom of the community was accomplished by
means of a feast called itabiénli.

When children reached puberty they were secluded,
uanki, for a period of several months. They could not come
out in daylight, and they were fed and looked after by their
[856] relatives. It was believed that the greater or lesser duration
of the young people's uanki period would lead to their better
[622] or worse physical constitution. On the other hand, a chief's
son had to remain in seclusion longer than usual. The period
881 of seclusion began for boys with the ritual of the perforation of
304 the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had their ears
784 perforated immediately after birth, and their seclusion was
marked by the advent of the first menses. The end of the uanki
784 state was also celebrated with the tadaunúto. The girls then
881 began to wear uluri, that is to say, triangular genital coverings
796 about three centimeters square made of tree bark.
881
291

302 412 and was combed with a comb (*aekáji*) made by weaving slender cane teeth into a cotton holder.

301 237 Although clothing, in the strict sense of the term, was nonexistent, the Bacairí used, on ceremonial occasions, beautiful, skillfully made ornaments. An important ornament was the *orógo*, a diadem or feather headdress strapped to the forehead. The *orógo* was made by fastening a row of green parrot feathers to a cotton band, above which was fastened another row of yellow weaver bird feathers. Two long blue macaw feathers were set in the center so as to stand straight up above the forehead. The *orógo* was worn only by men. These headdresses are still used, for some were seen in the village of Simão Lopes.

There were at least four kinds of necklaces. The *megesáuwa* was made from small thin round disks of white or pink snail shell, as many as 400 being strung on a string. This necklace was worn around the neck by women and around the waist by men and girls. The *ikwihéno* was also made from snail shell, but the disks were oblong with holes in both ends through which strings were passed. Although the *ikwihéno* was particularly used by men, women sometimes wore it together with the *megesáuwa*. The *sawalápi* was a necklace [824] made from black disks of tucum palm nut and could be worn by both men and women at all times. Both men and women also wore necklaces made from the teeth or claws of the jaguar called the *dodojéri*. The Bacairí still use the *megesáuwa*, *ikwihéno*, and the *sawalápi*.

Besides necklaces, the Bacairí used a variety of other ornaments. The *upauwí* were armlets and anklets of cotton material decorated with feathers of different colors. The armlets, which were about 2 inches wide, were fastened tightly above the [826] biceps and were believed necessary for the development of the muscle, with similar bands worn below the knee and around the ankles. Both men and women used the bands. An American missionary who experimented with Bacairí arm bands claimed that they caused him a great deal of distress but he has observed no ill effects among the Indians. The *poi* was a feather ear ornament made from red toucan and yellow parrot feathers [304] suspended from the lobes of the ears. Holes in the ears were made with a sharpened jaguar bone or with a sharpened rhea feather. The *tajikaino*, worn only by men, consisted of two blue macaw feathers

placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that the feathers swung one on each side of the head. Although the *páiko*, or scratcher, was not strictly an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had ritual meaning. The *páiko* was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the *mukúna* vine. The *páiko* was used by boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had sores on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the *páiko* made people strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairí did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairí kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpía" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin. The "harpía" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairí diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places. The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards, turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairí cultivated bitter manioc, *ópa;* sweet manioc, *taisę;*

844 with a bamboo sliver. The placenta was wrapped in a piece of cotton cloth and buried because it was believed that if it were picked at by birds it would cause sickness and misfortune to the mother and child. The child was then washed, wrapped, [553] and given to the mother. Later it was given the name of one of its ancestors.

846 During the seclusion period the mother and child were believed to be in a state of ritual danger (*wanki*). They were not permitted to go out in daylight and had to be fed and cared for by the female relatives. The first menses released the mother and child from seclusion, this release being known as *tadaunúto*. Shortly afterward the father invited the villagers to a ceremony (*itabienli*) [533] during which the *nokigóra* and *tadánwa* flutes were [535] played and only the women danced. By means of this ceremony the mother was reintegrated into the life of the family and the village.

857 After 3 years of age both boys and girls began to 868 copy their elders, the boys playing with bows and arrows and the girls with spindles. By the time the boys and girls reached puberty they knew how to perform most adult activities.

PUBERTY RITES

881 When the girls had their first menses and the boys reached the age of 13 or 14, they had to go into seclusion (*posegéiro*) for a period of 2 months to a year. It was believed that the longer the young people stayed in seclusion the stronger they would become physically. The longer periods of seclusion were also believed to enhance the prestige of the family. The boys and girls were not permitted to come out in daylight, and were fed and cared for by their parents. While the boys and girls were in seclusion they made pots and baskets for family use.

889 With boys the seclusion was inaugurated by an 304 ear-piercing ceremony. A number of men with sons of about the same age would perform this rite collectively before invited guests. After eating [535] and drinking, the *poinwáto* song and dance were performed. The boys were now in a state of *wánki*, ritual danger, and were secluded immediately after this rite. The girls' ears were pierced when they were babies, but the ear piercing of the boys corresponded to the period of the first menses of the girls.

527 gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted ears.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the *kadoéti*. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted ears or pieces of ears to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was [262] disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the *kadoéti* the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man to man asking for a song leader. The man who 527 took the offered corn husk then began the 533 *yawaisári*, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Bacairí and how it made the people strong and healthy.

88/ The *ransegéro*, or ear-piercing ceremony, was ●304 performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced [533] and the *poinwáto* song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred flute tunes.

342 The *mahulawári* was performed during coopera- 476 tive house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain [824] number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their loads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

286 The custom of distributing cotton by a woman 571 with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the [535] women sang and danced the *yamaikúma*. This

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluseu. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluseu. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simõe Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluseu.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluseu. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropmetric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluseu, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

SP8 Bororo SP8
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

The heads of the boys before arriving at puberty are often shaven, but the girls wear the hair in the same style as the older women until puberty, when the hair is not cut and must be worn over the face until after the end of the initiatory period [Plate XII, 3, 4].

Y [88] 302 105 171

Body hair, especially of the genital parts, is pulled out by both sexes. Hair of the legs and arms is not pulled out unless it is unusually thick, but the trunk, the armpits, the face, receive careful attention. For this purpose a spiny grass is used. In contrast with the Bororo, the eyebrows are not taken off.

Bo [302]

With the exception of ear piercing, which is performed on the boys, no other type of body mutilation is practiced, though the use of piranha-teeth scrapers to draw the evil out of the body in case of sickness, done by the individual himself, often leaves marks on the body. This is done also to alleviate itching.

Y 105 171 304

Filing the upper teeth is limited to the Bakairi, who file the upper front teeth to a point.

[755] Ba 304

* * * *

Each village is composed of a number of houses, generally about five, with a headman to each. The heads of households are interrelated, often being brothers. In each household a number of families live together, each having its own possessions, and its own section of the hut. Such a household generally consists of the headman and his wife, his unmarried children and the married females with their husbands and children. The young man goes to live in the house of his wife's father, but when he is capable of it he may build his own house.

Y 105 171 621 [592] [591]

There is a nominal head to the village. His authority, however, is limited to the ceremonial; in other things he is more of a counsellor than a leader.

Y [622]

The women are actually the authoritative persons in the village. Succession and inheritance is traced through them, and though the stranger deals with the men, they consult their women in everything and refuse to do anything unless the women are compliant. Often the women are openly more aggressive than the men.

Y 105 171 562 621

Marriage takes place soon after the puberty initiations, which both boys and girls have to undergo. For the girl, the initiation consists in having her legs bound in the manner already described, covering the body

Y 881 [582]

[text continues on p. 171]